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Comment

EAST AFRICAN FERMENT

THE European communities of East and Central Africa are anxious and disturbed, and the position there grows increasingly difficult. Although it is the policy of the British Government to prepare Colonial peoples for self-government, no one knows exactly how this is to be done in complicated societies, where differing races, varying profoundly in background and experience, separated socially by iron barriers of prejudice and custom, nevertheless live side by side, each struggling for political expression. In West Africa the problem of mixed communities hardly exists, and the Colonies there are advancing rapidly towards the control of their own affairs. This must influence African thought elsewhere on the Continent, where the African is still very much the under-dog. Furthermore, the currents of world opinion are flowing in favour of the 'subject races,' and the pronouncements and investigations of the United Nations have supported African aspirations. It is only natural that the European communities should ask themselves where, under these conditions, *they* stand, and should be turning to each other for support and encouragement. Dr. Malan has been speaking about a United States of Africa, and his words have been eagerly caught up as far north as Kenya and Tanganyika. Many extraordinary speeches have been made by spokesmen there. 'They talk of an East African Dominion, linking on to a Central African Dominion, eventually coalescing with South Africa itself—all designed to save 'white civilisation.' 'It is absolutely necessary,' said Mr. Bouwers of the Kenya Legislative Council, 'that we drop all prejudice against fellow-Europeans in Africa and get together on a common colour-platform.' At one of the biggest political meetings ever held in Nairobi, it was decided—last March—to form a European East

African Union, whose objects were 'to establish a strong and permanent European settlement throughout East and Central Africa.' At the same time the Red Bogey has been raised, and is being pursued with all the passion of the traditional Witch Hunt. The African is said to offer a fertile field for Communism, and the European is beginning to define his mission in life as the saviour of Africa from Kremlin domination. Is it surprising that this hysteria should evoke excitable reactions on the part of the Africans themselves? And what should appear more seductive than this curious thing, 'Communism,' which the Europeans so obviously fear? In this tricky situation, the Colonial Office balances itself on a razor's edge. Judicious statements are made to placate each side. But the balance is becoming increasingly untenable.

THE SPECTRE OF COMMUNISM

THE spectre of Communism' is certainly haunting those in power in the Colonies today. The recent troubles in Uganda were attributed by the Governor in a public announcement to 'Communist inspiration.' He expressed righteous indignation against the 'few evil and self-seeking men who have brought about great trouble and distress in Buganda.' This explanation is now being trotted out to explain every symptom of disturbance in every Colonial territory. It is simply not good enough. We know very well that the easy generalisations and half-truths of the Communist creed, building on very real grievances and painting exciting pictures of wealth, happiness and equality for everyone, simply to be had for the taking, can exercise a strong fascination over people living under Colonial conditions. But, in spite of the Red scare, there are actually very few Communists in the Colonies, and the troubles which are constantly simmering there, with occasional violent eruptions, may be due to a score of other reasons—the break-up of traditional ways of life, the psychological impact of a strange civilisation had

economic conditions, aspirations which leap ahead of practical possibilities, and so on. It is surely politically stupid, psychologically obtuse and administratively unrealistic to condemn all this disturbance as 'Communist-inspired.' Nothing, as we have already explained, could be more calculated to turn people's minds towards an inquiring interest as to what Communism might really be!

NO MEDDLING ALLOWED!

WHAT is happening in the West Indies? Little enough publicity has been given to the moves which, step by step, are leading to the creation of a West Indian Federation, one day to become—it is hoped—the West Indian Dominion. Yet the progress is very real. After the original conference on federation which took place in Jamaica in 1947, a Standing Closer Association Committee—composed of representatives from all the West Indian Colonies—was set up. It has held a number of meetings, the last took place in Trinidad in March. The Committee reached agreement on the basic points of the new federal constitution, and discussed the financial basis of federation. The next meeting was called in Barbados at the end of June. In the meantime West Indians are very jealous that 'everything set down in the draft constitution will be ideas from the West Indies and not ideas emanating from the Colonial Office.' A number of local newspapers have issued warnings that they want 'No Colonial Office Handouts'; still less do they want 'foreign meddlers.' This last warning refers particularly to the Inter-American Commission on Dependent Territories, the successor of the ill-fated Bogota Conference of 1948, which has been meeting in Cuba. West Indians have not forgotten the claims of Guatemala to British Honduras, of Venezuela to the Guianas, of Argentine to the Falklands, and so on, and they will have nothing to do with 'those meddling foreigners who would push their fingers in the West Indian pie.' 'Our ultimate goal,' states the Closer Association Committee, 'is self-government within the British Commonwealth of Nations.'

STORM IN THE SEYCHELLES

THERE is nothing our less responsible Press enjoys more than a scandal in some far-off Colony. It can paint the Colonial Office in the blackest colours, it can indict Governors and Officials, it can storm indignantly against corruption and wickedness, and no one knows enough to challenge the facts. This time the Colony of the Seychelles is the scapegoat. Mr. Gammans moved the Adjournment of the House before Whitsun

with allegations of disgraceful 'political jobbery and maladministration,' and the evening papers, ignoring a very much more important debate on Malaya the same day, took up the cry in screaming headlines. The truth of the matter is that the Seychelles Islands, situated in the Indian Ocean, a thousand miles from anywhere, present a peculiarly difficult administrative—and *human*—problem. There is a population of 35,000, about 3 per cent. of whom are descendants of pre-Revolution French settlers, known as *grands blancs*, while the remainder of the population are coloured peoples, descended from slaves. The Europeans, isolated in mid-ocean for generations, enjoy a host of ossified social prejudices, prominent among which is a virulent colour bar. They do not take kindly to income tax, which they have been happily evading for years. There have been next to no social services, and no manifestations of democracy. When a new Governor was appointed in 1947, an unorthodox choice was made—a distinguished doctor, Dr. Selwyn-Clarke, who had served on the Gold Coast and in Hong Kong, instead of the usual official from the Administrative Service. He has fought against the colour bar, introduced some popular representation, struggled for an extension of social services, and firmly determined to clear up the scandalous non-payment of tax. Why should anyone be surprised if the ire of the European population was aroused? Or if a Tory M.P. should decide to espouse their cause in Parliament? Mr. Gammans has been positively bursting with righteous indignation on behalf of the *grands blancs*, while relishing the opportunity for a good smack at the Colonial Office, *en passant*. If it had been a clear issue between 'aristocrats' and 'people,' the matter would have been simple enough. Unfortunately it has been complicated by the personality of a Mr. Collet, a barrister and a coloured man, who was appointed as Advisor to the Inland Revenue Department. From this strategic point he has been chasing arrears of income tax up to 25 years back—with what was described in Parliament as 'excessive zeal.' The Europeans would anyhow have been stung to fury, but to have this done by a man of Mr. Collet's colour, was the last straw. This is no place to enter into the merits or demerits of Mr. Collet's individual actions. But it is indisputable that he and the Governor have had the support of the 97 per cent. of the 'under-dogs,' and Mr. Collet has certainly derived no personal gain from this affair. Casting Daniel into the lion's den seems a positively humane act compared with sending a reformer into the perils of the Seychelles!

DILEMMA IN MALAYA

From a Correspondent

EVERYTHING in Malaya depends on the Malays and Chinese sinking their differences. But just consider those differences! The Malays, bucolic, unsophisticated and unambitious; the Chinese, largely urbanised, very worldly-wise and continually planning a greater future for themselves personally and as a race. Their religions clash, their modes of life clash, their customs, their personal habits, their very appearances are all grist to the mill of dissension.

In the past, and even now, wittingly or unwittingly, the British have done much to foster this schism. Malays were the only Asians admitted to the Civil Service. The Malay Sultans were, and are still, maintained, purely as puppets without an atom of real authority. Thus, while they are mere sops to the Malays, to the immigrant races they are bones of contention. All Malay schools are State-provided and maintained—no Chinese ones are. All the good pad-land is in alienable, i.e. for Malays only. This was, and is, no doubt, necessary; otherwise the Malays would be even worse off economically than they already are. But, if all classes of Chinese and Indians are to be induced to become 'Malayans' they must not feel that the land belongs only to a special race. What is more, the Malays' claim to special rights on the grounds of their being the original inhabitants of the country ought to exclude a large number of those claiming to be Malays. Many Sumatrans, Javanese and other Indonesians have immigrated during the past century and, being very akin to the Malays, they have been assimilated. In reality over fifty per cent. of the present 'Malays' are just as foreign as the descendants of the Indians and Chinese who immigrated during the past hundred years!

Since 1945 the communal situation has deteriorated. From being fairly amiable competitors the Malays and Chinese are now separated by a deep and widening gulf of fear, hatred and mistrust which only generations of education will ever be able to bridge. The MacMichael arrangement did little to satisfy the Chinese, who wanted more, and angered the Malays who expected the return of the British to mean, for them, a return to their pre-war favoured status. The Federation agreement acknowledged these shortcomings but did not eradicate them, for the Chinese were even more irate at losing what little they had gained from MacMichael, and the Malays were still not

satisfied that they were back where they had been in 1941.

Since the Emergency commenced last June, the damage done is irreparable. As the vast majority of bandits are Chinese, the Malays regard it as being much more an attempt by the Chinese as a race to take over the country than a Communist uprising. Apart from the British troops the anti-bandit forces are predominantly Malay, consisting of the Malay Regiment (some British officers and all Malay other ranks); the Police (about ninety per cent. Malay) and the Special Constabulary (22,000 out of 24,000 of which are Malays). To the Malays it is thus a crusade against the Chinese and will always be regarded as such. On the other hand, the Chinese, even those who pay their protection money to the bandits, most begrudgingly, are not to be blamed for harbouring the suspicion when they are arrested for questioning, searched or 'screened'—all by Malays or British—that the whole campaign is being directed against them as a race.

Welding of the Races

What has the Government done to oil the wheels of the communal machine? Its attempt to aid the growth of a healthy useful Trades Union movement has come up against immense difficulties. Strong useful unions can come only when the Malays and Chinese learn to co-operate with each other, and even then the unions cannot be expected to be on the European model for the very good reason that Malays and Chinese are not Europeans.

Apart from unions the Government has spent considerable sums through its public relations department to try to convince all races that they should remember their similarities and forget their differences. Pamphlets, lectures, reading-rooms, recordings by prominent men of all races played over loud-speakers in the most remote villages, radio talks and films, all the paraphernalia of modern salesmanship has been thrown into this attempt to sell each race to all the others. It is now interesting to note that one of the first departments to be axed in the recent economy drive launched by the Federation Government was that of Public Relations. Apparently even in Kuala Lumpur they are at last beginning to lose faith in this expensive and largely futile product of a well-intentioned, but misinformed, Occidental mind.

Various inter-community liaison committees have been formed throughout the country. A handful of well-meaning, somewhat pious, definitely respectable and probably affluent Europeans, Chinese, Malays and Indians get together and say the hatchet should be buried. Still the inter-racial strife persists. One raid by the predominantly Malay police on a squatter area will undo all the good work of a hundred meetings of the local inter-community liaison committee. Recently, and by way of admitting that the onus of obtaining a speedy end to the Emergency is upon the Chinese community as a whole, the formation of the Malayan Chinese Association was announced. We are told that thousands of Chinese are rushing to join. How many squatters are included in those thousands?

Of course, at the moment the Government's finances, energies and men are too involved in the short-term business of fighting bandits to attempt to tackle the long-term problem of making a unity of this racial hotch-potch. But what might it consider doing at a later date, perhaps, to improve the situation?

Separate Primary Schools

One of the most glaring omissions made by this Government has been in the matter of education. At the moment there are three important types of school. The first type, and that which caters for more children than the other two put together, is the private Chinese school. In every town, village and squatter-area one of the most prominent buildings is the Chinese school. It is invariably large, substantially built, the walls are festooned with photographs of Chiang Kai Shek and Sun Yat Sen and, outside a Chinese Nationalist flag proclaims 'here is a piece of China.' Inside the schools are crudely, but adequately, furnished. The children are numerous, healthy and attentive. These schools are producing citizens who are one hundred per cent. Chinese and not even ten per cent. Malayan.

The only language used is the local Chinese dialect. No subjects are taught which could be expected to help break down the traditional, and very real, reserve and innate superiority of the Chinese as a race; as for introducing the children to this new and very different country and attempting to fit them to co-operate with the other races in it, nothing is further from the founders' and teachers' minds.

The second type of school is the Government Malay school, which, in its way, is just as great a

hindrance to the growth of a *Malayan* race. At least, however, these are Government schools. In all kampongs (Malay villages) and towns the long, single room on piles is to be found with its three or four classes all in together and open to the public gaze. Hosts of diminutive, moon-faced Malay boys in their songkoks (caps) and a few graceful girls in their blue sarongs and white bajus (loose blouses) make a very gay picture, but, unfortunately they are brought up to regard themselves as something of a Chosen Race. The omniscient orange Patch (European) is on their side and will provide for them. They come to regard the Chinese as usurpers and inferiors, barely tolerated and best ignored. Again no attempt is made to foster the growth of a Malayan race even though the teachers are civil servants, the books supplied by the Federation Government and the policy (presumably) laid down by it.

The third type of school is the Government English school. These exist only in the larger towns and are open to all races. In them all are as one: Malays, Chinese, Indians, Ceylonese and Eurasians rub shoulders, learn together and play together. In the higher forms at least, even the *lingua franca* ceases to have a communal flavour for a high standard of English is achieved by most pupils. It is the products of this type of school who, more than any others, will be suitable and useful citizens of a future Malayan Dominion. And it is on the lines of these schools that all others must be remodelled.

Discrimination against Immigrant Races

Again, no amount of 'Malayanising' propaganda is going to have any effect on Chinese or Indians, however long they may have lived in Malaya, if they know that the higher grades in the Government Service and the Judiciary are the exclusive preserve of the British and the Malays. In the same way the Land Tenure Acts discriminate quite openly against non-Malays. Laws and practices virtually oppressing the immigrant races will always make them feel the need for a homeland outside Malaya to which, on retirement, they can return. If they are to be persuaded to become true Malaysians these anomalies must be removed. Yet—and herein lies our dilemma—if encroachments were made upon the existing rights of the Malays they would also become troublesome, the flames of their nationalistic fires would be fanned, and their ties with the independence-minded Indonesians would be strengthened. How, then, is the new Malayan nation to be forged?

WHAT CAN BE DONE WITH THE CHIEFS? II.

By Marjorie Nicholson

IN our last article,* suggestions were made for the development in West Africa of a system of local government based on elected councils, in which the chief in each district would function as a ceremonial head and, if desired, practical leader, of all the people of his locality, provided that the people want to have a chief and are able genuinely to select the man they want. Such a chief would in practice be part of the structure of democratic local government. Would there be any part for him to play in national government?

If the position of the chiefs in local government is at present anomalous, owing to the control—actual or suspected—exercised over them by Administrative Officers, in national government it is still more anomalous. Under the existing constitutions of Nigeria and the Gold Coast, chiefs sit in both regional and Legislative Councils. In what capacity? If they are held to be representative of their people, they should be accountable to them, but in theory chiefs cannot act at all without the advice of their local councils, and in practice it is difficult to make them accountable. The only genuine representative is one who is elected, and elected not as a chief, but for the specific function which has to be performed, namely, participation in the framing of laws for the whole country. It is no derogation from the qualities of either the King or the Prime Minister of Britain to suggest that it is unlikely that either would be very successful in doing the other's job. A King might be a suitable ruler in certain circumstances, but the democratically-minded have long ago decided to run the risk of wasting the political capacity of individual kings rather than to run the risk of despotism. On a small scale, the chiefs are in a similar position. They personalise the symbol of their people's unity, the stool, as the King personalises the Crown. Symbols cannot be representatives, and this will become even more obvious if and when a party system develops in West Africa.

Moreover, as at present selected, many chiefs cannot be held to represent the whole population of their area. This is recognised in the Richards Constitution for Nigeria, which provides that the Northern House of Assembly should contain 20 unofficials, six of whom are nominated by Government to represent interests not otherwise adequately represented: the Pagan and Sabon Gari communities are specifically mentioned as being unlikely to secure sufficient representation through the Native Administrations. The present exclusion of outside groups from full participation in local government may conceivably be justified in the name of local custom, but it cannot be right to allow such custom to prevail in selection to a national body making laws for the whole country.

There is a further difficulty in deciding which chiefs should be members of the Legislative Councils, since the entire hierarchy of big and little chiefs obviously cannot attend. If the whole population are to make the choice, they will either choose on political grounds, which is precisely what should be avoided, or they will choose their own chiefs, because they are their own symbols, and this is no choice at all. It is clear that the difficulty of selection leaves the field wide open for Government influence. The belief that this has in fact been exercised, coupled with the present position of the chiefs as local government officials with fixed salaries, constituted the main

ground for public criticism of both the Nigerian and Gold Coast constitutions—that nobody knew whether the chiefs were official or unofficial members of Legco, but everybody suspected them of functioning as officials. The Committee was therefore unanimous that the central assembly should consist of elected representatives, and that persons having any special status should be considered inappropriate as candidates for election.

Upper House for Chiefs?

Does such a suggestion exclude the chiefs altogether from participation in politics? It was felt that total exclusion would be undesirable, since the chiefs do retain some position in the feelings of the people, that there is an element of experience amongst them, and that able men will be unwilling to be chosen as chiefs if all power is to be stripped from them. In the Gold Coast particularly there has been much talk of creating a bicameral legislature, with the chiefs in a second chamber. If the chiefs stand in a particular relation to their locality, as English peers used to do, they might reasonably sit in an upper house as of right, or at least paramount chiefs might do so. But in this case they would be clearly out of place in the lower chamber, and should be declared ineligible for election or for a vote for any candidate to the lower chamber.

The deliberate creation of a privileged class of this kind is in any case open to grave criticism on other grounds, though the democratic election of chiefs would remove the objection that a seat in a legislature should not be given on grounds of heredity, as in the English House of Lords. There would in any case have to be room in an Upper House for non-chiefs, particularly as the chiefs' position changes, as it inevitably must. One suggestion was that an Upper House should be chosen on merit, and that all its members, whatever their relation to their locality, might be given the honorific title of Nana or its equivalent. It was also suggested that, since members of an Upper House would not be paid, and that there was no obligation for any people to appoint a chief if they did not want one, the number of chiefs actually availing themselves of the privilege of sitting in an Upper House would be small and dwindling. If an Upper House were considered to be desirable on other grounds, there might therefore be little harm, and some gain in general goodwill, in giving the chiefs seats as of right. It should be added, however, that the Committee was by no means agreed on any of these points, and reached no final conclusion. On one point it was unanimous, that the man who wishes to play a powerful part in national politics in the lower house must not at the same time hold the office of chief, but must be a true representative of the people of his district.

All these conclusions must necessarily be tentative. There is no straight answer, applicable in all circumstances and areas, to the question 'What can be done with the chiefs?' The final answer must depend on many imponderables, such as the mood of the people, the use made of the chiefs by the Government, the behaviour of the chiefs themselves, and so on. The system that is eventually adopted should be flexible and should be designed to give full expression to the wishes of the population, to their pride in their traditions and to their hope for the future.

*The first article on the position of chiefs in West Africa appeared in *June Venture*. The Committee referred to was one set up by the Bureau to study this question.



THE picture is still of the intricate pattern of freedom and organisation, behind a curtain of power, with fighting in the border-lands of South-East Asia. For instance, despite the ill-starred Bevin-Sforza plan for an Italian return to North Africa, an independent Cyrenaica has at last been proclaimed under the Grand Sanusi (June 2). The American blue-print for Mr. Truman's Fourth Point emerges as an initial programme of \$100m., half to be met by the U.S., whose business-men have been lectured on the new 'welfare' concept by Mr. Harriman. In rather a haphazard way, they are already advancing money to produce more kyanite in Kenya, cobalt in Northern Rhodesia, and graphite in Madagascar, while a doctor has gone to West Africa, and an entomologist to Nairobi. For its part, the Colonial Development Corporation is still silent, but it is believed to be considering 60-70 schemes, at a cost of £30m., of the total £100m. These include the rebuilding of the ruined town of Castries in St. Lucia, and the development of Guiana timber resources, under safeguards for the local people, by the firm of Steel, late of Burma, rather than the present monopolists, Booker Brothers. In the wider Welfare programme, 21 ten-year plans have now been approved, at a total cost of £199m., of which £64m. come from the United Kingdom, £71m. from revenue, and £64m. from future loans. On May 19, the British and Egyptian Governments announced agreement over the great Nile scheme. In West Africa, Government are surveying the Volta Valley source of potential Gold Coast power, until recently the preserve of a bauxite firm, making use of a South African firm of surveyors. The general West African atmosphere is shown by a *fracas* in Owerri in Southern Nigeria, between the villagers and a Shell geologist, who had located (unnamed) minerals. In Central Africa, Lake Bangweulu is to be surveyed by Professor Frank Debenham. Over in the West Indies a new variety of banana has been evolved by the Department of Agriculture, immune from Panama Disease and leaf-spot, which may supersede the *Gros Michel* and the *Lacatan*.

technical achievements leave the people indifferent, if they happen to be Greek; and in the May elections (in which only 13 were taken to hospital) the Nationalists got 60 per cent., the Communists 40 per cent. Further east, in Aden, the first tractors have arrived for the Abyan scheme, which will grow 3,000 tons of food on desert-lands irrigated by rain-water dammed in the torrents of the hills.

IN social welfare the 10-year plan for Guiana, most recently approved of all the schemes, will build a technical school, accommodating 600 boys. The Governor, Sir Charles Woolley, recently announced that 95 per cent. of the people are now free of malaria, a result far in advance of any other South American country, thanks to the dramatic D.D.T. campaigns of 1946-47. Across the Atlantic, in Nigeria, we may refer to a little scheme, typical of many now proceeding: the controlled agriculture near the road from Calabar to Mamfe in the Cameroons, in these settlements now entering their third year. They include 203 families of Ibo from lands outworn by the rising population. Each has a 17-acre holding, growing palms and other trees, and crops in rotation, with lime and brick works, and hand-presses for the oil. Each receives a loan up to £60, and a housing loan of £17 10s. Not very inspiring as a way of life, but a new world is seldom thrilling. Here is the Officer Administering the Government of Sarawak talking about rice needs to the *Council Negri*: 'The deplorably wasteful methods of hill *padi* cultivation, which is devastating our forests and silting up our rivers with the country's best soil, must be made to give way to proper methods of swamp-*padi* farming.' And here is an echo from Southern Rhodesia, where Bulawayo is attempting a municipal food system: 'The Natives principal objection is not to the food but to the system. If he is within reach of his *kia* (hut), the Native would rather bring his few penn'orth of mealie-meal and have his wife cook it at home, or alternatively pig it in a fly-ridden Native eating-house than eat communally in a clean, orderly, municipal hall, where he is given balanced, wholesome food, hygienically cooked.' Almost all the failure of twentieth-century civilisation is contained in those latter words.

THE fortress colonies seldom receive mention. One of the oldest, St. Helena, the watering place for the old route to India, is to have 100 of its redundant workers sent to Britain, and new flax mills built by the Government. In Gibraltar, there is also a population problem, and there are still exiles living in London, four years after the war. In Malta, no less than 40,000 are registered as would-be emigrants, and 900 are sailing to Australia this year; while the British Government is doubling its 1948 offer of £10m., with a loan of £18.5m., free of interest. In Cyprus (where new terminal buildings were opened at Nicosia airport on May 24) the British claim 100,000 acres restored to irrigation, within the last ten years, by damming small mountain streams, and each of the 647 villages is to have piped water. The forests have also been saved from final destruction, for oil has reduced wood-fuel, from 220,350 tons a year to 53,420 tons, and goats may no longer safely graze. But in Cyprus, these

THE greatest political experiment is in Nigeria, with a budget of £27m., against £6m. before the war. Here, discussions are taking place, right down to the village-level, on the 1950 constitution. At the same time, the United Africa Company has reached agreement with the

POINTS



workers' Union on 25 points, including a minimum wage of £72 a year and 2d. a day more for daily labour. Another sign of maturity comes from Barbados, where the Legislative Council (Labour majority) voted 11-1 against two weeks' holiday with pay in the present stage of the island's economy, which the potentially rich Guiana has accepted in principle. In Trinidad, wage councils are to be set up in industries without unions. In Grenada, 3,000 nutmeg growers have protested against the new compulsory co-operative. 'This,' the main speaker, an Englishman, declared, 'savoured of slavery.' Slavery seems the main argument, despite subsidiaries about 'reckless building,' 'inadequate advances' and 'bad marketing.'

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THE settlers of Kenya are also finding the new era of the third way, and the co-operative state, equally hard, if not harder, to understand. In Nairobi, there has been great indignation among a certain class of European, about the need to deliver up its thumb-prints along with other races, under a new system of registration, which started on May 16. Talking about the far-sighted Europeans who accepted this in 1946, Brigadier Peto, in the British House of Commons, exclaimed: 'They must have been *Socialist* European'; and a young Member of the Legislative Council, Derek Erskine, who supported the measure, was howled down. For the inter-racial Kenya of the future, Swahili is being replaced by English in the Army, and gradually, in the schools; while 2m. trees are to be planted, through a movement launched on May 24, the Colony's first *Arbor Day*.

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OVER a day of the Mauritius Legislative Council's time was devoted to debating the restoration of a Government clerk, who had been dismissed for embezzlement. Another long debate followed on holding May Day on the 2nd (a Monday), but this was rejected by the Government, who pointed out that the island already has 15 national holidays in the year. A further motion, by Dr. Millien, wanted the Imperial Government to pay for a D.D.T. campaign against malaria, apparently under the impression that the results would be more useful elsewhere than in Mauritius. Meanwhile, the serious task of reorganising the island economy is scarcely tackled, and an official from London had harsh things to say of the large cost of overheads, and an over-optimistic 10-year plan. However, the leader of the local Labour Party, Rozemont, secured one victory. After another long debate, it was decided that the Municipality of Port Louis may not lease the *Champ de Mars* to the Racing Club—at least without an enquiry.

AN area one hears little about is the Sudan, where the local Government of the *Umma* is now faced with a famine in the east, among the Beja and Amara nomads. On this, a committee has been set up, consisting of an English chairman, and five Sudanese. The Assembly already has one success to its credit: a round-table conference with the *Railway Workers Affairs Association*, which staged a 24-hour strike at Atbara and other places, over the new Trade Union laws. These it did not understand, in particular the power to form unions in all industries, and the need to publish annual accounts. In March, nationalist motions to secure Sudanese company control on the lines of recent laws in Egypt, failed, largely because it would be harder to find the 51 per cent. Sudanese capital required than the Sudanese directors.

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THE importance of the Colonies is still not sufficiently regarded in London. A small example: in February, a trade agreement with Holland completely ignored Singapore, faced by an embargo in Indonesia. A larger one: the Foreign Office decision over Tripoli. In a State undertaking, the British Overseas Airways only removed a clever but offensive window-show in their Piccadilly offices, after strong protests from the West African Students' Union. In a well-known weekly (published by Odham's Press) there was an account of the Kabaka's wedding, which caused indignation throughout the length and breadth of Uganda. One need scarcely mention a recent issue of the *Evening Standard*, which showed two British Council dudes in evening dress sitting down before some astonished savages, a gross libel on the excellent work done by the Council in Africa, both East and West, quite apart from a vulgar illustration of the old imperialist stereotype.

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IT is strange how Fabians are genuinely misunderstood by that good hater, the expatriate Englishman. In the last issue there was a quotation from Kenya. Here is the *Nyasaland Times* for May 2: 'It is a strange characteristic of the human race that there are individuals who hate their own kind more than they hate other kinds'; and it goes on to say, 'The reason for this peculiarity is obscure, probably it is pathological and a psychologist might attribute it to an incomplete sex-life.' One wonders if these distant critics know that our Editor, is in fact happily married, with two bouncing children? And the *Northern News*, the organ of the statesmanlike Welensky! It is discussing the Colonial Month, and proposes an exhibit (note the gender) 'To get the general idea over, there should be a model of a Fabian, which while cradling a fully grown African in its arms is, at the same time, managing to painfully jab an elbow into the ribs of a white colonial who apparently is only doing his best to offer the African a worth-while job.' Does the *Northern News* regard the Frenchman, André Siegfried, as a Fabian? He is one of the most balanced academic writers in the world, and *a propos* a recent tour in Central Africa, he says that no one should entrust all power to a resident settler community. It is not hatred, it is not love, with great deference it is justice, and so peace, that we are after.

COLONIAL OPINION . . .

Bustamante's Record

Mr. N. N. Nethersole, one of the leaders of the People's National Party of Jamaica, which is in opposition to Bustamante's Labour Party, reviews critically the record of Bustamante's administration of the last four years.

To explain and appreciate the lamentable results of their administration regard must be had to three 'functional weaknesses' from which Bustamante and his Party have suffered. The first is *Bustamante's Personal Pre-eminence* in his Party. This has had the direct result of making the Executive Council of Government by far the greatest bottle-neck in the whole administration system. Nothing can be done without the approval of the Big Chief. . . .

This has also been the reason for the 'rubber stamp' attitude of the House of Representatives. Members have doubtless felt that active debate and frank discussion might be fruitless or might react adversely on their positions in the hierarchy. Consequently, most important laws and measures have been enacted with practically no study or discussion by the House.

It has also been the reason for the entire breakdown of the 'House Committee' system provided by the Constitution whereby various Committees of Members of the House are supposed to discuss and consider various matters. . . . And for the most part this phenomenon of pre-eminence has also been responsible for the irresponsible attacks made on the civil service by Majority Party members. . . .

The second functional weakness of the Labour Party's composition may be described as the *Bustamante-Big Merchant Axis*. There is no doubt that Bustamante had the full support of Big Merchant Trader business in the 1944 Elections. And it is now clear that the consideration underlying that support was that if he were allowed a free hand in his mass labour activities he would undertake to protect their interests. And he has lived up to his part of the bargain to the letter. But that part has been the direct cause of the extraordinarily high increase in our cost of living. It meant the abolition of the food subsidies, and the wide relaxation of import control designed to secure the best use of scarce hard currency and the giving of priority positions to imports most needed, viz., capital goods. It is also the reason for the inability of the Labour Government to tackle the problem of unemployment. This would have meant considerable public expenditure, and part of the Bustamante-Merchant pact was that the latter should be relieved of tax burdens wherever possible. . . .

The third functional weakness is this: It is trite but true to say of the Bustamante administration that it has had no policy; it is tragic to note that this absence of policy has induced a standard of public morality so low that it is now a menace and will be most difficult to eradicate. It has led to the establishment of the Pork Barrel as the sole instrument of policy. *If a land settlement is to be done it requires several dips in the barrel*; similarly roads, housing and any other improvements which may be sought. . . .

For the first time in our history, political manipulation, pork-barrel methods, the unscrupulous use of poli-

tical power, and a total cynicism have so dealt with the masses of our people that we have developed a *hatred for one another*, bred solely from the need to have the wherewithal to live, that we will resort to open violence against our brother rather than allow him to get a job of work which we may have had. That condition has been deliberately contrived and is one of the most serious evils in our midst. And it has been contrived as a means of securing political power and satisfying an utterly insatiable vanity and lust for power. Truly the record of the Administration is bad!

Jamaica Arise, February, 1949.

Party Propaganda from Jamaica

The theme of the above article by Mr. Nethersole is taken up, colourfully, in these verses.

Mek We Join De P.N.P.

(Sung to the tune of 'Hinki Dinki ra ra bum.')

Come Jamaicans One and All,
Te ra ra bum,
And mek we join the P.N.P.,
Te ra ra bum,
The P.N.P. has pledged to fight,
Until we gain our human right,
Mek we join the P.N.P.

Busta promise electric fan,
Te ra ra bum,
No land, no house fi hang it pon,
Te ra ra bum,
The P.N.P. has got a plan
That every man can understand,
You mek we join the P.N.P.

Lead us Manley lead us on,
Te ra ra bum,
The workers know you are the Man,
Te ra ra bum,
The Brain, the Guts we know you got,
The others are a bunch of rats,
We all a join the P.N.P.

Jamaica Arise, February, 1949.

The Sporting Spirit

Sir Sydney Abrahams recently visited the Gold Coast for the purpose of suggesting ways of improving sports. He received a very mixed welcome. Here is a comment from an Accra paper.

'It would have given us immense satisfaction and unchallengeable proof of Britain's sincerity if you, a legal man of no mean standing, a P.C., had come to advise us on self-government; instead we understand you have come to advise us on how we ought to "put our sport on a sounder basis." What irony, Sir Sydney, what irony!'

Accra Evening News, 28 April 1949.

CORRESPONDENCE

Visit to Nigeria

To the Editor of *Venture*.

Sir,

I am an Ibo man, born and bred, and I am proud to belong to that race.

Certain parts of your report on a visit to Nigeria gave me a great surprise—parts that savoured much of tribal prejudice or hatred; and I take an exception to these parts of the report because, believing that you are the friend to Nigeria which you said you are and believing that as a friend to Nigeria you will have her well-being at heart and share in her sorrows as well as in her joys, it seems rather unfortunate and disappointing that you should identify yourself with one tribe or political body. You may be surprised at this statement but that was the general impression most of us had as we read through your report and came across the many unfortunate references to 'the antagonism of the Ibos in the East,' 'the Zik's Press campaign in the East which engendered suspicion against us,' the unhappy comparison between the N.C.N.C. and the N.Y.M. Are you quite sure you were well informed about these matters or were you able to understand, by yourself, within such a short period which your visit covered, the various problems of tribe and politics in Nigeria as to write in the vein you did, or should I take it that you felt it would be considered a mark of ingratitude if you failed to praise those who had invited you, even when that praise was exaggerated and amounted to an open attack on other institutions and tribes?

In your April issue I read this sentence, 'Some contend that the 1947 Constitution is being revised sooner than anyone anticipated because of its unexpected success and the enthusiasm with which the African members of the Councils have collaborated.' I haven't any great comment to make here except to say that in my opinion there is nothing more absurd than that, and it is only a fool who would sell his books because they had been of such use to him. In the following paragraph appears the question whether there is yet sufficient mutual confidence and tolerance for Hausas and Yorubas to accept an Ibo Minister of Transport. My answer to that, and it is a short one at that, is 'Yes, if government would play a fair game.'

Yours, etc.,

D. O. Omeoga.

University College, Ibadan.

(We are sorry if certain statements of fact are interpreted as 'prejudice or hatred.' It is a fact that the Ibos were antagonistic to us, and that Zik's Press campaign engendered suspicion against us, and we did no more than report these facts, without expressing any personal judgment. The sentence quoted about some contending that the 1947 Constitution was being revised because of its success—Lord Milverton, ex-Governor of Nigeria, is among those who have made this claim—had a second half which our correspondent omits, 'others insist that the change is coming because the Government has been honest enough to admit that it did not go far enough in 1947, and that there was justice in the many public criticisms.'—ED.)

Central African Federation

To the Editor of *Venture*.

Sir,

Although I have noted the Secretary of State's reply in the House in which he states that 'full account would have to be taken of African opinion before any constitutional change affecting African interests could be considered,' one cannot help feeling perturbed about recent developments in Central Africa.

The creation of a Central African Dominion is an object which many of your readers would support, but the creation of a new State from the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland on the lines of the Union of South Africa would be disastrous for the future development of the whole continent. Should not the British Government now set in motion what will inevitably be a slow system of consultation with the native population, with a view to creating a truly African Dominion for its nearly 6,000,000 inhabitants?

I can only hope that the Colonial Bureau and interested M.P.s will continue to watch the matter with the closest care.

Yours, etc.,

Francis K. Eady.

75, Holland Road, London, W.14.

THESE COLONIES!

Scratch the Secretary of State . . .

"We have been awakened from our day-dream of Responsible Government to find ourselves well and truly under the thumb or heel of the Colonial Office. . . Scratch this Secretary of State and you find a Fabian. He is a man who has a plan and we must conform to it. Mr. Creech Jones knows what is good for us better than we do ourselves. He knows all our problems and how to solve them. . . He never wanted to hear what we had to say about anything. . . If he thinks we are going to be content with the degree of responsibility he has left us, the sooner he is disillusioned the better."

"The West African Pilot? The Comet? No. The Northern Rhodesian *Central African Post* after Mr. Creech Jones's talks to European settlers."

From *West Africa*, 21 May, 1949.

Advertisement in Nigerian Newspaper

Nigeria is not a British Colonial Territory!

The British are here to-day as our Advisors only, and they are well paid for their jobs.

The British are getting 'out of bounds' by empowering themselves with the authority to rule us from the Colonial Office.

The British are exploiting the producers of this country by monopolising our Produce Trade.

Nigerians are not Colonials! The British must quit immediately if they are here to rule and not to advise.

Daily Service, Nigeria, 13 April, 1949.

Guide to Books

The Jungle is Neutral

By F. Spencer Chapman, D.S.O. (Chatto and Windus. 18/-.)

Stories of heroism of the war in Europe and the Far East, posthumous V.C.s to servicemen for outstanding bravery, have become almost commonplace. But *The Jungle is Neutral* is no less an epic of the Second World War than the *Pillars of Wisdom* is of the First. Field-Marshal Earl Wavell in his Foreword prepares us for the sense of humility that is a tribute to the recognition of 'feats of endurance and a triumph of the spirit over the body.' So much was endured that was unnecessary, owing to the lack of preparation for the stay-behind parties which Colonel Chapman was prevented from organising in Singapore. The Malayan Command never believed that the Japanese could occupy Malaya, and consequently no real preparations were made until a considerable part of Malaya had been overrun.

The most important information concerns the role of the Resistance Movement, almost entirely Chinese. The set-up is familiar from the stories of the Eighth Route Army of Yen-an days—disciplined, puritanical bands of organised guerrillas, led by Communists, but with many followers little interested in ideology and only concerned with the Anti-Japanese struggle; and a smaller number of Chinese bandit forces, looting the countryside, one of which captured the writer.

Malayans and Indians appear in the book as collaborators with the Japanese or as neutral figures to be feared in case of betrayal.

The Chinese nursed the British through their many illnesses, fed them, provided guides, assisted their contacts not only with each other, but also with the submarines from Ceylon which made possible Colonel Chapman's escape. The British trained and dropped supplies. Politics was a forbidden subject as the guerrillas were anti-British. It is tragic that this co-operation should have collapsed so completely. Might it have been otherwise if men with Colonel Chapman's experience had been in control of post-war policy? He left Malaya in November, 1945. Earl Mountbatten personally decorated the guerrilla leaders in January, 1946.

The book has a collection of excellent photographs and a map. No brief review can convey the profound impact of Colonel Chapman's heroism upon the reader.

H. B.

Africa Looks Ahead

By W. Singleton Fisher and Julian Hoyte. (Pickering and Inglis, 15/-.)

This record of the life work of Dr. Walter Fisher and his wife Anna illustrates afresh what Africa owes to the pioneering missionaries of the nineteenth century. Hardly an apt title, and not very well written, it nevertheless tells simply and impressively of hardships endured and obstacles surmounted by a band of Christians working steadily inland along the old slave route from Central Africa to the coast at Benguela in Angola.

Inspired by early home environment and the example of the famous "Cambridge Seven" of the China Inland Mission, Fisher volunteered for Central Africa as a medical missionary in 1888 at the age of 22. Trained at

Guy's Hospital, a brilliant surgeon, he gave up the chance of a promising career and sailed for Africa in 1889. Two years later he married Anna Darling, a trained nurse, and until his death in 1935 they worked together ceaselessly and selflessly for the spiritual and physical well-being of the people.

Medical and surgical treatment, itinerant evangelisation, did not exclude the learning of successive local languages; translating the Gospels and printing them on a hand press; practising dentistry (a skill acquired on leave) and rearing a family.

The story's weakness for a general reader, is that it is too enclosed and, except for an occasional reference, does not show this amazing work in relation to the developing political background. But if Africa's great need is integrity of character, service of this kind and quality is to-day more essential than ever.

J. W.

Talking Drums of Africa

By John F. Carrington. (Carey Kingsgate Press. 5/-.)

Dr. Carrington, 'a missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society in the Stanleyville area of Belgian Congo' records in his brief bibliography that 'there are very few, if any books, other than the present, devoted entirely to an account of the talking drums of Africa.' Delightfully written, adorned with helpful illustrations and infused with the author's deep interest in the peoples he served and among whom he studied drum language, this book makes a many-sided appeal. Praise or abuse, information or entertainment, even love-making—great is the variety of words and meanings of words used by a skilled drummer. A chapter on '*Horns, Whistles and Guitars*' shows that the drum is not the only instrument, other than the voice, used to transmit 'language.' An amusing example of the use of the guitar is given, in an African variant of the game of Hide the Thimble, in which the guitar tells the seeker of the hidden object whether he is what we call 'hot' or 'cold' or 'getting hotter,' 'getting colder'! A fascinating scholarly book.

D. D.

Proud Zulu

By Oliver Walker. (Werner Laurie. 9/6.)

In vivid, forthright language the author records the rise and fall of the short-lived Zulu dynasty from the days of Shaka 'who by the year 1818 had stabbed his way to over-lordship of all the tribes clustered amid the hot glens of what was to become Zululand,' on through the years to Cetewayo, last of the great Zulu fighting kings, and closing with the surrender to British forces in 1888 of the three Zulu leaders, Tshigana, Ndabuko and Dinuzulu. 'The House of Shaka is spilt like water on the ground,' said the Governor of Natal. The author admirably presents the drama of events, and many of the men and women taking part, Zulu, Boer or Briton, come to life in his pages. There can hardly be a reader of this book who is not aware that the struggle between the varied peoples living within the Union of South Africa to-day did not end with the passing of the Zulu kings. In recent years this struggle has become more tense and at the same time less isolated from world affairs, consequently from world concern.

D. D.

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"Deserves a wide public. Wisely and wittily written, it paints a vivid picture of Burma immediately after and before the Japanese invasion; explaining in some detail the mistakes which British and Burmese alike have made. It is a book to be read with attention by everyone who is interested in the developing political ambitions of the peoples of South-East Asia... fascinating... continuously seizes and holds attention."—*The Times Lit. Supp.* 10s. 6d.

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"The first major attempt to assess the Asiatic Empire's achievement and the consequences of its passing. Theme and scene alike are vast, but both are presented with the clarity of a mind quick to mark the essential... It should be read by all colonial administrators and students of politics and by anyone who wishes to understand our abdication in Asia and the momentous changes involved."—*Manchester Guardian*. 12s. 6d.

Race and Politics in Kenya

MARGERY PERHAM and ELSPETH HUXLEY

"Of immense interest to the serious student of African problems."—*New Statesman*.
"A full-dress debate, at great length and in great detail, of the question whether the British Government is or is not justified in maintaining political control of Kenya... No one who reads the book will fail to learn and profit from it."—Leonard Barnes: *Tribune*. 12s. 6d.

African Discovery

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"This anthology of exploration is a most enthralling book. Bruce, Mungo Park, Clapperton, Lander, Livingstone, Burton, Speke, Baker and Stanley all contribute their quota in passages which have been specially selected for their dramatic interest."—A.M.A.
"Readable in the extreme."—*New Statesman*. *Illustrated*. 12s. 6d.

The Native Economies of Nigeria

edited by MARGERY PERHAM

"The first instalment of a two-volume study, sponsored by Nuffield College, of the *Economics of a Tropical Dependency*. This study, though written mainly by experts and for experts, is lucid and readable and full of interest for the intelligent general reader."—*The Times Literary Supplement*. *With maps*. 25s.

Mining Commerce and Finance in Nigeria edited by MARGERY PERHAM

"Remarkable... no student of Colonial administration should fail to read this book. Further, it should be studied by every Colonial administrator, from the highest to the lowest."—*West Africa*. "The country presents a great range of administrative, sociological, political and economic problems, the study of which is of the highest importance not only in the interests of Nigeria itself but of the rest of our Colonial Empire in Africa."—*The Times Review of Industry*. 35s.

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Parliament

During the last month 128 questions have been asked in the House of Commons on colonial affairs covering political, economic, social and military problems. We can only select a few to indicate the scope of interest.

Kenya Civil Service and African representation on the Executive and Legislative Councils. Mr. Hynd asked for an assurance that Makerere College was training Africans for senior posts in the Civil Service as at present there were no Africans in the higher posts. He also enquired as to whether an African would be appointed to the Executive Council and the representation on the Legislative Council would be increased from two to four. Mr. Rees-Williams said that wide opportunities existed in the Kenya Service for Africans with qualifications, and as they made use of available opportunities, they would become qualified for the higher posts. The possibility of Africans serving on the Executive Council and increased representation on the Legislative Council would be reviewed from time to time. (May 25.)

The Civil Service in Singapore. Mr. Wyatt asked for the establishment of a Public Service Commission as no Chinese in Singapore occupied posts in the higher status and consequently there was widespread dissatisfaction. Mr. Rees-Williams did not accept the view about the feeling in Singapore, but said that the creation of a Public Service Commission to facilitate recruitment of local people had been agreed. (May 25.)

Anglo-French consultation on Togoland. In reply to Mr. Sorensen's question on the importance of securing the co-operation and closer unity between the peoples and tribes subject to two European powers, Mr. Creech Jones said that there was continuous consultation in West Africa and at the metropolitan level to minimise practical difficulties, that certain advantages had come to the African people through collaboration, and that the situation in Togoland was constantly under review by the United Nations. (June 1.)

Northern Rhodesia: European settlement and political power. In reply to Mr. Skinnard, Mr. Creech Jones said that declarations by the Government had from time to time made clear that the present and future interest of Northern Rhodesia could be served only by a policy of whole-hearted co-operation between the different sections of the community based on the real interests of

both sections. The policy in regard to paramountcy was defined by Parliament in 1931 and restated by the Secretary of Native Affairs in N. Rhodesia in August, 1948. That policy remained as stated. No change in existing land policy or settlement was or had been foreshadowed as it affected either Europeans or Africans. As to constitutional change, the Government had a special responsibility to the African communities, and full account would have to be taken of African opinion before any alteration affecting African interests could be considered. (May 12.)

Visits of Colonial Trade Unionists to the United Kingdom. Mr. Sorensen asked to what extent the T.U.C. had been consulted and their co-operation secured in regard to facilities for West African and other colonial trade unionists to visit this country and secure experience of British trade-union methods and organisation. Mr. Creech Jones said that preliminary consultation had taken place with the T.U.C. on facilities for a number of Nigerian trade unionists and that he was awaiting particulars to explore arrangements with individual unions. The T.U.C. had agreed to co-operate in a scheme whereby West Indian trade unionists would be given six months' practical courses in trade union work. In a supplementary, Mr. Awbery asked that deputations from the T.U.C. should visit the colonies, and Mr. Creech Jones promised consideration. (May 11.)

Racial discrimination in inns and boarding houses, etc. Mr. Mitchison asked what steps were to be taken to remove any doubt as to the illegality of conditions in leases prohibiting or restricting coloured travellers, and whether he will introduce legislation to prohibit in leases of premises of hotels, boarding-houses, lodgings, restaurants any condition of racial discrimination. The Attorney-General said that such conditions would be contrary to the rules of public policy upheld by the English courts as legal duties on an innkeeper are not affected by the colour of the traveller. Legislation was not necessary. A boarding-house keeper was not under the same legal obligations in respect of travellers. Mr. Mitchison asked that the same legal obligations should apply to boarding-house keepers. (May 16.)

Rice in North Borneo and Sarawak. Mr. Thomas Reid asked for information on the progress of schemes of growing rice on a large scale by mechanical methods in view of the fact that the two colonies only produced half their consumption. Mr. Creech Jones said that trials of mechanised cultivation of rice were proceeding on a small scale and the results of the trials were awaited before any large-scale mechanised schemes could be tried. (May 11.)

For Reference

July, 1949

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